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GERMAN EAST AFRICA  
DOMESTIC SLAVERY

1915

17th August 1915

The Report by Major Norman King.

Sixty Fiduciary

It is not likely that the military authorities contemplate the immediate abolition of slavery in Africa, & this report may be regarded as merely for reference later if occasion arises.

Germany has lagged behind us in this matter and has not yet taken the final step of abolishing the legal status (this is 2 years 1897 under K.E.A.P. coast strip in 1907 - wif. Selen), after strong fear of disturbance, economic trouble, & expense in compensation. Major King considers the first military kick there is a good deal in his record (though he has not much faith in Arab collection in any case), & says the cost is put at

100,000 £100,000 £10,000 £1,000 £100 £10 £1

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£200,000. [We have largely met the £40,000 required for 2005, and the rate of expenditure has been as follows in recent years, but the numbers may be regarded as rough]

(Under the direction of the Committee of the Slaveholding States agrees with what we have had page 3 1860. The above would not give much idea of the amount paid for the very extensive services rendered, such as the construction of roads, bridges, etc., and the building of fortifications, etc., which were required to protect the slaves, and also to stop the escape of slaves in large numbers.

If - in view of the fact of General Lee's failure to make his position considerate, the slaves he now forced to accompany him were to be considered as his personal property, we are bound - it is just for us to do so.

? July 6th 24. 8/5

At home P.M. 26. 7/5



The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents  
his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for the  
Colonies, and, by direction of the Secretary  
of State, transmits herewith copies of the under-mentioned  
paper.

Foreign Office,

August 19, 1915.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Letter <sup>b</sup> from Foreign Office.

Description of Inclosure.

Name and Date.

Subject.

Major Norman  
King  
(latey Mr. and General  
of the Royal Artillery)  
July 16

Lavery in German  
& Africa

(Similar letter sent to

Duplicate

C.O.  
78399  
Chile  
Island of Mafia  
East Africa.

July 8th 1915.

112191

AUG 14 1915

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, on the occupation of the German island of Mafia by the British forces in January last, the question of the disposal of the domestic slaves in the island arose. I was requested by General Wapshere, then General Officer in Command of the Expeditionary Forces, to furnish him with a report on the subject. The report, which I have the honour to transmit herewith, is in substance the same as that sent by me to General Wapshere.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect

Sir,

Yours most obedient,

W. Grey, Bart., M.C., M.A.

humble servant

*W. Grey, Bart., M.C., M.A.*

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Office

LONDON S.W.

*Copy*

Prussia and (since 1871) Germany are signatories to the following International Treaties in which the question of suppressing the institution of slavery is dealt with:-

1. The Conference of Vienna, 1815.

2. The Treaty of London, 1841.

3. General Act of the Hague Conference of Berlin, 1878.

4. General Act of the Anti-Slavery Conference of Brussels, 1890.

These treaties, however, do not attempt to abolish domestic slavery, but are directed towards the suppression of slave-raiding and the slave-trade. As Oppenheim says in his "International Law", (Vol. I p. 368, note 2) :- "It is incorrect to maintain that the law of nations has abolished slavery, but there is no doubt that the conventional law of nations has tried to abolish the slave-trade." It is worth noticing that the General Act of Brussels contains a special chapter (no. 4) dealing with Signatory Powers "whose institutions permit the existence of domestic slavery". Great Britain, Germany, Parma, Turkey and Zanzibar were all signatory Powers and all of them ruled at the time over lands where domestic slavery existed.

The problem of abolishing domestic slavery has been approached in different ways by Great Britain and Germany. While the former ultimately decided to set all slaves free with a stroke of the pen by declaring the status of slavery illegal (in Zanzibar, 1897), Germany has been content with introducing legislation to ameliorate the conditions of the slaves' existence and to make it easier for them to obtain their liberty than it was formerly. Finally she decided to pave the way for the total abolition of slavery by declaring all children born after 1908 free; a step which was taken by Great Britain in Zanzibar in 1890. It is estimated that there will be no more slaves in German East Africa after about 1930, but it would seem as though Germany has never really abandoned the idea of stamping the slave holding as illegal and setting all slaves free on a given date. The expediency of so doing has been the subject of discussion, I believe, in the Reichstag and reports have been called for from the various administrative officials. The report sent in by Mr No 1. the official in the island of Mafia is annexed herewith.

Germany has slavery in other of her colonial possessions than German East Africa, e.g. Cameroons, Togoland and New Guinea, but in none of them does it play such an

important part in the general economy of the country as

in East Africa. Germans would probably urge some such

grounds as the following in explanation of their policy

of not directly abolishing domestic slavery:-

1. The abuses which certainly existed before the advent  
of the European Powers in Africa have been largely abol-  
ished, now that the slave-trade and slave-raiding have  
been suppressed and the owners of slaves are subject to  
the control of the officials of a European Power admin-  
istering laws specially framed for ameliorating the

<sup>U.S.</sup>  
conditions in which the slaves. (Translations of these  
German laws are annexed). Further, although there is  
something repellent in the very idea of slavery to the  
European mind, the average African native does not regard  
freedom as an ideal worth striving for on its own account.  
There is too much similarity between the lives of freemen  
and slaves for the slave to feel that there is anything  
degrading in his state.

2. If the slaves were all set free at one time compen-  
sation would have to be paid to the owners. This would be  
a very costly business in itself, yet it would certainly  
leave the owners dissatisfied and serious political  
disturbances might ensue.

3. No great change in the existing institutions of the country would have a disastrous effect on the economic conditions prevailing. The Germans are apt to point to Zanzibar as an object lesson. They say that that island is full of idle natives and yet half the clove crop rots on the trees and they attribute this state of affairs to the abolition of slavery in Zanzibar, where it formerly played a more important part than in East Africa. How much justification there is in this I am unable to say, but it is probably true that the abolition of slavery has tended to bring about the economic ruin of the Arab plantation owners.

4. The old and infirm slaves, who are now legally entitled to support from their masters, would fall a burden on the State.

5. The gradual abolition of slavery by making it easy for slaves to obtain their liberty and by declaring all person born after a certain date free allows time for all parties concerned to grow accustomed to the new order of things without causing any economic upheaval. For centuries the African native has been accustomed to slavery with all the attendant horrors of slave-raiding and trading. There can be no great hardship involved in domestic

slavery being allowed to continue in a modified form for  
a few years longer.

The quotations, from a German and an English source,  
respectively, may be of interest here. They are taken  
from "Rights and Duties in the German Protectorates" by  
Dr. Wallmann, a prominent official in German South Africa  
and from Lytton's "Sudan in Contemporary Times".

Wallmann writes :- "Not merely political considerations,  
but also regard for the interests of the master, the  
slave-owner, rendered it impossible for the Empire to  
conclude its rule with so radical a change in the native  
judicial system (Rechtsordnung) as the abolition of  
slavery with one stroke of the pen. The interests of the  
slave himself forbade any such measure, for freedom from  
the necessity of working would mean for him loss of means  
of support. Slavery naturally plays an integral part in  
the conditions governing family life and inheritance  
among black people, but it is itself an economic system.  
If this system be destroyed, something must be set up in  
its place, or large numbers of human beings will be reduced  
to starvation and despair". The author then refers to  
the condition of Russia after the liberation of the serfs,  
a measure which he regards as responsible for the social

revolution of recent years "which has shaken the great Empire to its foundations".

The following extracts from Lyne's "Zanzibar" deal with the slavery question in that island:- "One of the most effective threats that can be used against an idle and good-for-nothing fellow, is the threat to free him. When the question of the abolition of the legal status came up in 1897 the advocates of total abolition could never have realised the amount of hardship they would have inflicted upon many of the slaves of Zanzibar if they had had their way and compelled them, *nolentes volentes*, to be freed. The injustice to the Arabs would have been great, but the cruelty to the slaves would have been greater. Hundreds of people, who now live contentedly in their own homes, working only when they like, would have been turned out and become vagrants. Slavery such as prevailed in the Southern States never existed in Zanzibar, and even that mild form of slavery which the leisure-loving Arabs could impose has long since been dead. If the truth were known, I believe that the slaves, no less than the slaveowning classes, when first they observed the efforts of the British Government towards the suppression of slavery, looked upon the whole proceeding as a monstrous

injustice. A slave lawfully held according to Mughamedan law rarely denied the fact. He never paid in the plea that, according to all the laws of humanity and justice, his master had no real right to him. According to his view his master had a right to him, and he himself, as soon as he could afford to do so, bought slaves of his own..... In Pemba masters and slaves came to terms without the use of formal letters of freedom and without compensation to the owners. The slave worked four days for six hours a day for his master and for work beyond that he was paid in money or kind. The Sultan set the example of this system and, of thousands of slaves living and working on his lands and in Pemba, not one asked for freedom..... The slaves of the rich Arab or of the poor man, who lived among his slaves practically the same life as they did, had little desire to change their condition. It was the town slaves, bound by "middle-class" persons, who were usually hired-out, who came to claim their freedom, although in Zanzibar only some 40 per month came to do so at first.... The Indians were the first to profit by the new arrangement. They pointed out to the slaves that now that they were free they could keep all their wages and therefore they

should be reduced by half.

Nevertheless, in spite of everything that can be said in favour of domestic slavery as an institution adapted to the conditions of life in East Africa, German public opinion, as far as it was interested in the Colonial Possessions at all, was not altogether satisfied with the retention of slavery. Awkward articles would occasionally appear in newspapers or troublesome questions would be asked by missionaries or in the Reichstag.

Even the official conscience seems to have been a trifle uneasy on some small points where the "law" administered in the Protectorate clashed with the principles of German law in Europe. (The administration of justice to the natives is entirely in the hands of the administrative officials. The District Commissioners are responsible, but they usually delegate their judicial functions to a subordinate secretary). Decisions are based on "the principles of justice recognised among civilised nations, sound common sense and local customs and traditions." It is interesting to note that in a semi-confidential circular issued to German officials in March 1899, it was announced that the status of slavery was thenceforth changed to one of retainership. Instead of slaves the

officials were to speak of retainers (Herrige) and instead of owners of masters (Herrn). The reason given for this order was that the word slave was hardly applicable to the altered conditions and it would be better if the newspapers at home ceased to use the ill-omened word 'slave'. Needless to say this order did not succeed to banishing the word 'slave' at all.

Another point of interest in this connexion is the fact that the retention of slavery put Germany in a somewhat illogical position as a signatory of the Brussels Act. Sections XXVIII and LXIV of that Act provide that any slave reaching the territories of or going for refuge on board any man-of-war of the Signatory Powers shall immediately be set free. It is true that Germany issued an order in 1897 that any runaway slaves from other lands reaching German East Africa should be freed without ransom, but it is certain that if a slave had run away from his master and taken refuge on board a German man-of-war in Dar es Salaam harbour he would have been sent back and re-enslaved.

It may be conceded that Germany acted reasonably in refusing to be misled by false philanthropy and retaining domestic slavery in East Africa, yet if she decided to abolish the institution at the present day, it is probable

difficulties in that the difficulties in the way of abolition would be  
 very great.  
 considerably less than twenty or thirty years ago owing to  
 the change of conditions. A possible exception to this  
 remark would be the island of Mafia and perhaps even some  
 portions of the coast where Arab influence is still felt.

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 (so-called political interests); those of the slave  
 owner; those of the slaves themselves.

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 the coast, and the Arabs have ceased to possess any polit-  
 ical power capable of giving any actual trouble to the  
 Germans. Every year the chances of a successful revolt  
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 their warlike habits, the number of white settlers is  
 increasing, the German control is growing stronger every  
 year and the natives were taught such a terrible lesson  
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The Germans admit that about 20,000 natives lost their

lives in this rebellion, but the British Consular Report for 1907 gives the number as at least 120,000 and this official statement has never, so far as I am aware, been contradicted. It has been given also in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edit.). Some idea may be formed from this figure of the German policy of "thorough" re-dealing with natives, and though there might be some local discontent if slavery were abolished it is improbable that this would assume any political importance.

The question of paying compensation to owners is also a consideration for the State. It was estimated by Dr. Garstedt, formerly native judge in Abyssinia, that the amount of compensation required in 1920 would be £200,000. He reckons the number of slaves [in 1915] at about 80,000, and considers that in 1920 this number would have decreased to about 40,000. The price for each slave he sets at 50 rupees (Rs 6/-), which is the average rate fixed for slaves who purchase their liberty at the present time. The payment of this sum could be met out of the Protectorate itself for Germany raises over £250,000 per annum on hut and poll tax alone. The poll tax is three rupees so that if it were increased by one rupee the amount required for compensation to owners could be raised in

about three years.

The interests of the owner could probably never be settled to the owner's satisfaction by any monetary compensation, which Government would be willing to pay. He would always rather have his slave than the price he paid for him ~~per head~~ and the compensation suggested above (50 rupees) is less than half the average price paid for an ordinary slave. Even if there were any real proportion between the value of the slave and the compensation offered, most Arabs would let their plantations decay rather than recruit and pay labour. In commercial matters the Arab has no talent and any attempt on his part to embark on the troubled sea of business usually ends by his falling an easy prey to the ubiquitous Indian, who plays the same part in East Africa as the Jew in Europe and enjoys thereby considerable wealth and universal detestation. At most, however, he admitted that many Arabs have ceased to value their slaves so formely. Tired of the endless disputes as to the amount of work due to him from their slaves and annoyed at the constant interference of the German officials, some of them have even given up slave holding and have ransomed their property for the usual fifty rupees although they may have paid two or

three times as much for them a short time before. It is also noteworthy that comparatively few owners appear to have taken advantage of the Government order issued for their protection in 1903 that all owners should register their slaves to prevent any of them illegally claiming their freedom later on on the ground that they were born after 1903. The fact that they did not all register their slaves indicates not merely Oriental indifference, but points to a decline in the value of the property in the eyes of the owners. Their authority over their slave also has been greatly impaired. Many Arabs do not know how many slaves they have nor where they are nor even if they are alive or not. The economic position of the Arabs, based as it is on slave labour, is already undermined and any step which hastens the final emancipation of the slaves brings them nearer to their ruin. The Arabs of course understand this perfectly well and the fact accounts for their German sympathies. No monetary compensation even to the full amount of the price paid for each slave would avail to save the spendthrift Arabs from financial ruin if his slaves are taken from him. The advocates of emancipation would probably argue that if the law of humanity demand the freedom of the slaves

it is hardly worth while to allow them to continue in bondage for the sake of bolstering an effete economic system.

The interests of the slaves themselves naturally deserve the most serious consideration of all. To ascertain the feelings of the slaves themselves in the business matter, however, is a most difficult ~~task~~ <sup>business</sup> owing to the deep gulf fixed between the European and African mind. The average native when asked a question usually endeavour to give answer in accordance with the wishes of the questioner regardless of veracity. If he does not understand those wishes he often takes refuge in the most exasperating stupidity. Either the truth is not in him or it is very difficult of extraction. Nevertheless I think it would be difficult to find a slave who when offered the alternative of slavery or freedom, would choose slavery nowadays. This I should attribute largely to the growth of European labour-employed undertakings. The slave sees that the freeman can work more or less when he wants to (there is "moral" compulsion to work in many parts of German East Africa and idlers are punished) and that when his thirty working days are accomplished he can ~~all~~ all his wages, whereas he, the slave, must

either work four days every week for his owner for nothing or he must give him half of any wages he may earn.

The slave does not yearn for freedom as an ideal state.

He has no ideals, regards slavery as a natural state of affairs and accepts his lot with Eastern fatalism. The Government he looks on as something to be feared and obeyed rather than as a friendly institution which will help him to attain his liberty. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why more slaves have not obtained their ransom in Mafia and why numbers of them did not escape in peace times to British territory or on to British men-of-war, where they could have presumably have claimed their liberty.

As a matter of fact ~~many~~ large numbers of slaves visit ~~of asking for~~  
British territory without thinking freedom, and some of  
the Arabs living in Zanzibar on the profits of slave-  
worked plantations in German East Africa used regularly  
to bring their slaves over from German territory to  
Zanzibar to help with the clove crop and then return them  
to the mainland without any trouble. It is a curious  
fact that German slaves serving in the Zanzibar Armed  
Constabulary and King's African Rifles used to remit  
regularly the portion of their wages due to their owners  
living in German East Africa. Moreover very few (about

(twenty) of the slaves in Mafia attempted to run away on the British occupation in January last although there must be between 6,000 and 7,000 slaves in the island.

It is true, however, that there has been a slackening of the owner's authority over his slaves since the military occupation by us. There have been a number of complaints of slaves against masters and vice versa, but not more than might have been expected if the slaves had been ordinary free plantation-hands. The most frequent offenders are the women slaves, who abandon their work to follow some temporary husband.

All this tends to show that there is no excessive enthusiasm among the slaves to obtain their liberty. But the argument that it would not be fair to them to set them free on the ground that they would be liable to slavery cannot be regarded as tenable nowadays. Although it is certainly true that compulsory liberation would have caused distress among the slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba twenty years ago, and although the introduction of such a measure might upset matters in Mafia and possibly some of the coastal districts where slavery still flourishes, there can be no reasonable doubt that the existence of the numerous European plantations would smooth the way for

total abolition at the present time. The total number of slaves in German East Africa is estimated at about 70,000 or 75,000. Of these the number of men capable of plantation labour would probably be somewhere about 30,000. Now the number of men employed by European undertakings alone in 1910 was 91,000 and in 1912 it had risen to 120,000. The number increases from year to year and yet the constant cry of the planters is that labour is scarce. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that these 30,000 freed slaves would soon be absorbed into the army of work-people in normal times. The slump in rubber in 1913, the cessation of Government undertakings and the distress among planters which will be caused by the war are of course abnormal features of the situation. But in view of the great demand for native labour in ordinary times it is quite absurd to contend that able-bodied slaves would run any risk of starvation if set free. If there seemed any danger of this happening it would not be difficult to arrange for the men to be employed on plantations as they were liberated and the trouble of moving them from their homes to the plantations would be greatly by the railways, of which there are now two. As it is most of the labour employed near Tanga comes from the distant

interior. Of the women probably nearly 80% of them are married and the disposal of the rest would not be a matter of insuperable difficulty in a country where so much of the light field labour is done by women. The married women would accompany their husbands and settle in the plantation districts where the need of an increasing wage-earning population is sorely felt.

There remain the old people who would, it is asserted, fall a burden on the State. It is, however, by no means certain that this would be the case. The assumption is based on the theory that at present the owner looks after the slaves who are either too young or too old to work. But as a matter of fact most of the children are fed by their slave parents and the old people are usually kept by their slave children. An Arab, who is fairly reliable told me that about 10% of the owners fed their old and infirm slaves. If we assume that the able-bodied slaves obtained employment on liberation, it is not easy to understand how the old people would be any worse off even if set free without receiving any support from the State.

On the whole it may be said, therefore, that neither the interests of the State nor those of the slaves would be promoted at the present day if slavery as a recognised

general  
effects  
of libera-  
tion.

recognised legal institution ceased to exist. So far from being prejudiced by liberation the conditions of the slaves ought to be considerably improved if work was provided for them on European plantations and the planters would benefit by having a new source of labour supplied.

However, the slave-owners would receive a serious setback; many of them would be ruined and the general economic system would be greatly disturbed in such districts as Nafia. (See the German official's report on Nafia, enclosure 1).

The important question, therefore, would seem to be whether the claims of the owners in this matter should be set aside on grounds of humanity or not. It has been shown above that, a few years ago, the bulk of the slaves apparently did not desire their liberty at all and that even to-day there is little evidence of any effort to obtain their freedom. As, however, this state of apathy may be due to habitual subjection and the condition of abject ignorance in which many of them live it may be well shortly to inquire into the conditions in which the slaves pass their lives to ascertain whether any change is necessary on considerations of humanity or not.

sitions of  
very

The bulk of the information which follows has been taken from German official sources, principally from a circular of instruction issued to officials in 1899, supplemented by personal observation. As will be seen the slavery existing now in German East Africa is the ordinary Mohammedan domestic slavery modified and controlled by European officials. The instructions referred to have no doubt been altered in some details during recent years and in some respects they were adapted to suit various local customs among the various tribes. They are elastic and a good deal of latitude is left to the discretion of the officials, but the following extracts give a fairly accurate idea of the general conditions governing the relations between owner and slave and State.

mer of  
lives.

The total number of slaves in German East Africa is probably between 70,000 and 80,000. The following table, taken from the German official annual reports, shows the number of slaves, who on various grounds were accorded their liberty during the last three years.

	1910/11	1911/12	1912/13
By purchase	1,980	2,186	2,221
Fromd by owner	1,838	1,534	1,729
Fromd by St	754	368	280
By death or other &c.	11	6	4,234
Total	4,583	4,094	

The state of slavery originates by birth or custom. Birth. Children born of a slave ~~own~~ mother are the slaves of the woman's owner, but the offspring of a regular marriage (kwa kitabu -on the Book) or even a legitimate concubinage between a slave mother and a free man are free. Since 1905 all children born have been declared free.

~~Slaves~~. Any person who has worked for five years as a slave continuously has given the master for whom he has so worked the right to claim him as a slave. On the other hand any person, not a proved runaway, who can show that he has done no slave labor for five years, is

[free]

legal position. The slave is competent in law (rechtsfähig), but he cannot make a will. The rights of master and slave in the matter of inheritance are regulated by special rules.

A slave can claim from his master food, board and shelter and every week at least one whole day or two half days free.

The owner discharges his liability in this respect by giving to the slave the use of a plot of land to till for himself and build his house on. Tools etc. must be provided by the owner and the slave who supports

himself in this way can claim three days out of the seven every week to till his plot. He must work the remaining four for his master without any food or shelter being provided. As to the number of hours which the slaves work on the four days for his owner, the practice appears to vary. The rule is that work begins at 6 a.m. and continues till noon, but it is a rule which is more often broken than kept. The Arab complains that of recent years the amount of work done by their slaves has tended to decrease and it has partially depressed wages the British occupation in Zanzibar. One Arab showed me the amount of clearing done on his manioc plantation by each slave; it was a space about 12 feet broad and 25 paces of rows in depth (the rows are about 7 feet apart). This work was so light that it could probably be done in about two hours. The Arab told me that the Germans tried to fix the amount of work due at 60 rupees, but without success. His statement was borne out by the local headmen. Other slave-owners inform me that their slaves stop work at 7 or 8 a.m. and do no more work in the day. In view of the facts that the owners all complain that their slaves do very little work while hardly any slaves have complained, to my knowledge, of being overworked I consider that the average number of

hours per diem worked by each slave is ~~more~~ than six.

The nature of slave labour in Mafia is as follows:-

Cleaning and planting Manioc plantations - cleaning

coconut plantations, cutting the nuts and preparing

copra - herding cattle and goats - working as boatmen -

house work. The practice varies so much that it is

impossible to give any account which is at once brief

and accurate. The following are actual cases:-

A goatherd stated that he worked all day looking after

goats (it is not arduous work) and received no money

or clothes. He admitted that he got at least two

bottles of milk per diem which he sold for about four

pence so that each month he earned nearly ten shillings

which is a good average wage. Of two slaves at Uhale

one stated that he earned 10 rupees per month and kept

it all with his master's consent, another stated that

he earned eight rupees and paid four to his owner.

I could find four rupees too little and had to borrow from his

employer, a German. Climbing coconut palms is a

strenuous occupation, and I have been unable to ascertain

how many palms of average height one climber can manage

in one day. The statements vary from 20 to 100 !

In general a slave gets a certain percentage of nuts

During four days in the week if he does overtime (this appears to vary), while he is often allowed to keep half of all the nuts he cuts on the three remaining days. Both sexes share in field and house work.

If a slave earns wages half of the money can be claimed by his owners. (See "Hiring of slaves").

The slave is allowed religious freedom and liberty to attend State or mission schools and religious services.

If the slave goes during the days he is working for his master, he must make up by overtime work. This (according to the German regulations) should mean no hardship, as the slave can always attend church or school on his own three days or after work is finished on his owner's days.

How far this permission is used by slaves on the mainland I do not know. In Mafia there are no missions and all the people are, at least professedly, Mohammedan. There is only one school and it certainly contains no slave pupils. Missionaries are hostile to slavery and difficulties would occur where the school or mission was a long way from the slave's domicile or where idle slaves make visits to the mission on excuse for shirking work.

The owner cannot refuse to allow his adult slave to marry. If he objects to a particular spouse the interest/

ted parties have an appeal to the Government. The Government appear in this matter to have regarded the relations between owner and slave as analogous to those of "father" and "child" and the owner was given a fairly free hand regarding the marrying off. It has been often found that it was his interest to control the number of slaves. The law of 1807 (adding 3 years to all persons born after that date) of course altered matters and not wholly to the advantage of the female. The owner has no longer any interest in marrying off his wife's slaves and producing a numerous progeny as all the children are free, though there are probably many children under ten who think they are slaves. Child-bearing also keeps the wife from work and the disputes which arise when the master's wife has different owners are endless. Again owners do not always care for their female slaves to marry because if the husband is ransomed they also become free. He cannot refuse consent if the bridegroom offers the usual bride-money, which is about one quarter of the slave's value, though in Mafia the intending husband had to pay the full value). Good-looking girls are often kept as concubines by their master;

there is one Arab in Mafia who has twenty-four such in addition to his four wives. This state of affairs is of course often to India, as previously mentioned the conditions are miserable and the master an old man. It may be mentioned that when an owner has a child by a slave whether the latter becomes free, that is if the owner acknowledges the offspring. It was estimated by a German official in August 1914 that about two-thirds of the male and 5% of the female slaves in Mafia are married - a low percentage for natives. The number of females working in the fields in Mafia, from small children to grey-haired old creatures, is notorious and questions on the subject were asked in the Karenian Council by William O'Connell in June 1914. It is perhaps worth mentioning that a large proportion of the "married" slaves are not married at all, but live in a state of concubinage. Almost every native has a woman to cook and make his bed for him, but he does not usually marry her "on the book" unless she is sufficiently valuable in his eyes to be worth fetching back if she runs away. Natives are very ill-disposed, especially among the slaves, who may almost be said to be without morals, and there is thus a large number of women, who without actually plying for hire as prostitutes change

their "husbands" lightly and frequently. Most of these are or have been slaves. Where they are still unresponsible they give a lot of trouble. It is practically impossible to make them return and work for their owners and difficult to punish them as they care little for being imprisoned.

A slave can own property and has the right of controlling it himself, but the owner having right to inherit from his slave and can therefore claim to supervise the management of the property. That the belongings of a slave often amount to anything deserving the name "property" is extremely improbable, but the matter acquires importance from the fact that slaves sometimes try to make money to purchase their liberty e.g. by getting a piece of waste land and planting coconuts or growing more manioc than ~~is~~<sup>they</sup> needed, selling the surplus and saving the proceeds. The owners are said to have tried to have laid hands on such property by insisting that the time spent in producing should have been spent in the service of the owner or that the money had been stolen. In these matters much was left to the discretion of the individual official.

The slave has a certain limited right of inheritance from his master. The total amount distributed among the slaves entitled to inherit must not exceed half of the estate. It seems doubtful whether there would ever be

be such a dearth of heirs as to give the slave much of  
a chance.

The slave is pledged to show him his loyalty and  
obedience. His master owns the slave's working power  
not the slave's person. I pointed this out to an Arab  
who maintained that an owner could compel his female  
slave to submit to his embraces and he replied that this  
was part of a woman's work ! This is right under the  
Sheria (Mohammedan law), and the Germans do not seem to  
have interfered beyond suggesting, in Wafis, a heavier  
taxation on concubines.

In many cases I have noticed the slaves show little  
respect or obedience to their owners.

An owner may let out his slave on hire or allow him  
to seek work after his own bent. In this case half of  
the wages earned belong to the master. In many instances  
the employer of a female slave is a temporary husband,  
but no respectable Arab will make money by the prostitution  
of his slaves, though it is an arrangement much approved  
by the female slaves. It may well be supposed that the  
owner often finds it difficult to make good his claim  
to half the wages. Definite arrangements are often made  
with employers, who pay the owner's half to him direct.

but the planters in Nafia, most of whom were of anti-slavery sentiments, because they saw in the slaves a source of labour, used often to cheat the owners by actually paying the slaves at higher rates than that agreed upon and deducting the owner's half at the lower rate.

The amount retained by the slave is supposed in law not to be less than three rupees per month, which sum is not sufficient to supply bare means of subsistence.

Slaves may be sold, but no sale is legal unless made before the official authority. If a slave can prove that the sale is to his serious disadvantage the sale may be forbidden and no slave can be sold without consenting to the transaction himself. This rule was introduced by the Germans to stop the traffic in slaves for profit, it was their custom to register the transactions not as sales but as "transfers of ownership". How far the slave had any say in the matter is open to doubt, it would depend on local conditions and the character of the official. According to reliable information a good deal of buying and selling of which the Germans knew nothing. It may be worth noticing that when the sale was actually effected in the presence of the official a fee was charged, but if the official work consisted in registering a transaction the details of which had been settled beforehand

the documents were issued without any charge.

The section of the German Regulations dealing with the sale of children under age is confused in meaning. The following is a literal translation:

"Without consent on both sides, neither children under 12 years of age nor married couples may be permanently separated from their parents or from one another respectively."

This section deals with the point which has created in humane Europe the bitterest enmities of the institution of negro slavery.

The negro attains puberty at the age of 12, his mental development has reached its maximum limit some considerable time before this.

There is therefore no ground why, if the child consents and the parents agree, the right to the child's labour capacity should not be transferred from one owner to another when the child has attained the age of 12."

If the object of this rule is to prevent the separation of small children from their parents it seems futile, as it does apparently permit their separation before they are twelve years old, if they consent. But very few negroes know their own mind or can express it and not one of them ever knows his own age even approximately.

Possibly the vagueness of the instruction indicates that

the matter was left to the discretion of the officials.

There is probably not much separation in the small island of Mafia where everyone seems related, but it would be interesting to collect information on the subject in Kilwa, where most of the Mafia slaves were originally bought and which was formerly a great slave market.

In certain cases the official may order the compulsory sale of a slave e.g. proved ill-treatment.

Owners and slaves have certain rights of inheritance against each other, as referred to above. The rules are complicated and appear to vary in different localities.

An owner has a claim in case of great necessity to support from his slaves or from former slaves freed by act of grace. On the other hand the owner is legally bound to care for his old and infirm slaves and is not released from this obligation by giving them their liberty when they are no longer fit for work. As already stated, theory and practice do not always agree in this matter, and it is only fair to the slave-owner to say that the households of many respectable Arabs contain hangars on who are fed, but never appear to do any work.

The owner has a right to inflict "reasonable punishment" on his slaves. Without which slavery would be unthinkable. No serious cases of ill-treatment have come to the notice

of the authorities since the British occupation in 1858  
and the readiness of the slaves to complain in small  
matters indicates an absence of grave oppression. The slaves  
know they can complain to the local headmen or to the  
British officials direct. Many of the headmen ~~control~~  
control their own slaves and the owners complain continually  
that their slaves work or not as they please nowadays.

Methods of  
mining  
freedom.

According to the German regulations the state of

slavery ceases in the following manners:-

1. By the death of the slave.
2. Official granting of letter of freedom.
3. Release by the owner.
4. By ransom.
5. By passing 5 years without working as a slave.
6. A female slave becomes free if she marries a free man  
if the latter pays the moharrat (bride-money).
7. Where the owner acknowledges the child of his slave  
as his offspring, both mother and child are free.
8. By failure of heirs on the death of the owner, unless  
the setting free of the slaves would make the estate  
insolvent.

Slaves may be declared by the Government in cases where  
the owner has been convicted and punished for ill-  
treatment of his slaves. The Government may also order  
owners to accept ransom for their slaves, when the latter  
have saved up enough to purchase their liberty or when a  
third party intervenes and offers to pay the ransom,  
which was usually about fifty or sixty rupees. A large

number of the slaves in Mafia obtained their liberty in this way as all the planters (about six) used to obtain their labour, with one exception, by purchasing the freedom of slaves, who were then employed as plantation hands at a wage. One planter told me he had purchased in this way no less than 400 slaves in the course of 40 years (and contracts another about 300. A few remarks on this system may not be out of place here).

In 1912 the official in Mafia reckoned the number of slaves in the island at 5,000 and the freed slaves working on plantations at 200, i.e. less than 4% of the whole number; but this number has been increased considerably during the last two years. These slaves, purchased by European planters entered into a contract before the official with the planter under which they were to work for him until the sum paid for their liberation should be liquidated by a corresponding amount of wages. These contracts were null and void after the expiration of 12 months, whether the amount were worked off or not, but as a matter of fact the planter usually induced the slave to enter into another contract, unofficial, if there was any balance against him at the end of the year. The result was that the slave often escaped from actual slavery into a state of bondage which was little, if

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any better than his former condition and the Governor,  
whose attention had been called to the abuses existing in  
Mafia by a report from one Herr Hauer, re-emphasised in  
1913 the rule that one year was the maximum time during  
which a Slave could be compelled to work to pay off his  
ransom. He also laid down a rule that 300 rupees was  
the limit that an owner could demand for the ransom of a  
slave. Herr Hauer points out in his report that the  
average time which it took a slave to work off his ransom  
in favourable circumstances was 25 years. He quotes  
~~three cases~~  
three cases were ransomed for 50, 70 and 50 rupees respec-  
tively in which they might have to work for 800, 700 or  
500 days to clear themselves. In one case the "freed"  
man bound himself for 1200 days! The average number of  
working days in the year for an industrious native is 220.  
  
Another abuse in this system of ransoming slaves by  
planters lay in the fact that the sum of rupees which  
remained to the slave after deduction of the monthly  
allowment agreed upon was often insufficient to support  
life and the native was then compelled to ask for money  
advances from his employer. This the planter was only  
too ready to give because the native was thereby still  
further bound to continue on the plantation. Thus the  
system of obtaining labour which prevailed in Mafia

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opened the door wide for the abuses of the advanced system so well-known in German East Africa. In some of the plantation districts it is stated that men earning from 12 to 15 rupees per month contracted debts with their employers up to nearly 100 rupees, which means that planter was cheated of his money or that the native was in a practical state of bondage. I have not been able to ascertain how far the Governor's instructions referred to were effective.

Liability. The owner is legally responsible for any damage done by his slave, but his responsibility in the eyes of the law does not exceed the value of the slave, which is in this case not the price paid by the owner, but the amount fixed as ransom by the Government, i.e. about 40 or 50 rupees. This seems to be a modernisation of the old Roman law "ob noxam datur". Slaves convicted of offences committed by order of their masters can be punished as accessories.

claim  
not to  
be.  
The owner has a claim for compensation to the amount of the value of a slave, if the latter is injured or killed. If there are other claimants besides the owner, the owner receives at least half of the compensation.

Some general idea will be obtainable from the above of the conditions in which domestic slavery exists in German

East Africa at the present day as a whole. The state of affairs in Mafia differs somewhat from that on the mainland, and probably resembles that of Zanzibar or Pemba before the emancipation of the slaves, but on a smaller scale. The proportion of the number of slaves to that of the total population is probably greater than in any other part of the German Protectorate. In 1918 the official estimate was 5,000 i.e., nearly half the population of the Island and it is now very about one third at the present day. The Acting Commissioner in 1914 refers to Mafia in an official communication as the "high citadel of Islam and the Eldorado of the slave-owner". Most of the slaves seem to have originated from the tribes between Lake Nyassa and the coast. The number of Arabs and slave-traders by plantation is relatively high, and there are no missions in Mafia to cause them any trouble. Between the Arabs and the planters, of whom there were about six, there was some ill-feeling, the latter, with one exception, obtained their labour by commanding slaves at a sum such lower than the price paid for them by the owners. This of course led to serious loss for the owners and was a definite grievance among them. The German officials were strongly opposed to any scheme for freeing the slaves or making it easier for them to

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obtain their liberty and there is little doubt that  
 any such scheme would deal a very heavy blow at the  
 native owners of slave-worked plantations. The European  
 plantations, which are at present almost at a standstill  
 because their owners or managers have been deported,  
 would ultimately benefit by any change as they ought to  
 plan to recruit labour from the freed slaves, without the  
 trouble of going over to the mainland, or else paying the  
 authority ransom funds. But the Ader and Bassell, who  
 are incapable of recruiting and paying organized labour,  
 would suffer a serious set-back if not ruin. No master  
 compensation that the Government would be willing to give  
 could replace the slaves they would lose. The average  
 wage paid to plantation hands for thirty working days in  
 Mafia is from 7 to 10 rupees; so that if the owners  
 received compensation to the extent of 50 rupees per slave,  
 the transaction would be equivalent to their getting their  
 labour paid for during a period of from ~~100~~<sup>150</sup> to 200  
 working days. It would be probably counted more favourable  
 to the owner, as many of his slaves are old and infirm,  
 but would probably entitle him to 50 rupees for each.  
 At the best, however, the owners would find themselves  
 left to their own resources soon after a year from the

that India will not want to profit from slaves  
and so will grant you a free labour market down there  
and will immediately become ready to accept certain  
conditions as to basic training of our soldiers, particularly  
those who are not entitled to receive wages because  
of their military status, etc. of extended visibilities after  
the battle, should have full control of the men and  
not be allowed to make use of them. To oblige  
the Indian to do this and other difficult things, he will  
need Malaya and the Raj authorities to disallow em-  
ployment of Indian men in Malaya as well as giving  
order of prohibiting slaves imported by other countries  
however and - and allow only slaves and workers brought  
as part of general grant and those obtained under  
various acts of Parliament or as part of the cost of armed  
forces and the like. In India, the Government, services  
and governments, as well as of a large number of  
men of the army, the navy, engineers, etc. are being treated  
with consideration, including all those in the civil service  
and other like posts, and to give the Government of  
India full power to do all these things above and  
anywhere else where slaves are found and to  
not treat a single slave according to the law.

date of the liberation of their slaves and their planta-  
tions would almost inevitably fall into decay and at last  
be sold. As it is, many of them are mortgaged and it is  
stated that all the Arabs in the island, with three or  
four exceptions, are heavily in debt to the Indian traders.  
The Indian is a necessary evil in this country's economy  
because he carries on the Fetsah trade, which is beneath  
the dignity of the European and beyond the capacity of the  
Arab or Bengali - an evil in many ways, and in none more  
than in his habit of getting his hands on real estate,  
which he himself is unable to improve or cultivate.  
The Germans appear to have accorded Nafia somewhat special  
treatment and have dealt with the slave-owners rather  
more leniently here than in many parts of East Africa.  
It is probably no exaggeration to say that the difficulties  
which would arise in connexion with any scheme for the  
liberation of the slaves would, in no part of German East  
Africa, be greater, if as great, as in the island of Nafia.  
The difficulties referred to here are of course  
economic difficulties, but apart from these it is fairly  
certain that the emancipation of the slaves at the present  
time, if it were undertaken with or without compensation,  
would cause great discontent and consequently embarrass  
to the existing British Military Government. The

Liberation  
at present  
impossible.

German attitude to the slavery question and (as they themselves claim) their system of jurisdiction over the natives ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> the two main factors which attach the Arabs and native slaves ~~still~~ to the German trade in Africa now. If the slaves in Zafila were to be liberated by the British, the note would certainly extend to the mainland, an alliance still forthcoming, as the representatives and support of the influential slave-owning classes in any military undertaking which may subsequently take place.

In conclusion it may be said that, from the European standpoint, slavery, even in the mild form in which it exists in German East Africa, is a detestable institution condemning as it does large numbers of human beings to pass their lives under restrictions on their liberty, which are often absurd and always repulsive in our eyes. It is, however, impossible to blind the fact that the overwhelming majority of the slaves lead far happier lives than the thousands of miserable beings, who lead out a wretched existence in the sweat-laden districts of our own large cities. Whether it is more right to enforce the European standpoint (or rather the British) by emancipating all the slaves at one stroke of the pen and thus ruining the slave-owners or to adopt a point of view in accordance with local conditions is a very difficult

difficult question to answer. It would seem probable that in any portion of German territory in East Africa which may pass into our hands as a result of the war, it will be considered necessary to adopt the same policy as in British East Africa and Zanzibar, namely, that of annexation. Whether this be so or not, there seems no good reason for allowing considerations of humanitarianism to override those of policy at the present moment or for interfering with the status quo in any portions of German territory which may be held in military occupation by the British forces during the continuation of the war.

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King  
Norway  
Major.

Political Officer to the Indian  
Expeditionary Force in East Africa.

## TRANSLATION.

District Official in Nafia to Governor of German East Africa.

.....

Report as to the advisability of abolishing or limiting domestic slavery in East Africa, with special reference to Nafia. Sent in reply to circular despatch from Headquarters in September 1912.

.....

The economic life of Nafia is based on the cultivation of the elephant palm and to a certain extent on native crops. The plantations owned by Europeans have given no very small results. The number of palms owned by non-natives amounted in April 1911 to about 100,000 according to the census for the annual report of 1910, which was made with all the accuracy which was possible.

In the interval the number must have increased by new planting to 400,000. Of this number close on 275,000 palms will have reached the stage of production, about 135,000 should bear fruit in the next two or three years and about 50,000 were planted during the last 2 to 3 years. Of all these 400,000 palms about 175,000 are growing on estates of not more than 200 palms and are owned by about 5,000 natives many of whom own just a few trees.

If one takes 200 palms as the limit which a native can manage to look after and keep clean with his family (ave-

(assuming 3 persons without any assistance from hired labour or from slaves) it will appear that 285,000 palms i.e. about 62% of the total stand in need of outside labour to be cultivated intensively.

The number of free men in Mafia amounts to 2,000. If you subtract from this the Arab population and a certain percentage for persons engaged in trade and old people, the number of men remaining over is still too small for work on plantations is not much more than 1,000. This number is wholly insufficient for dealing with the number of palms in Mafia even if the free men were willing to work for wages. That they should be willing is, however, rendered impossible by the fact that they themselves have their own plantations, are fairly well off and do not wish to work on the plantations of other people.

Native crops are mostly dependent for their continuation on slave labour.

At the end of March last year there were about 5,500 slaves in the district of Tachule and of these, according to the results of last year's investigation, 3,000 were female and 2,500 male. The owners of plantations of more than 200 palms owned of these slaves about 3,450, that is about 62½ which corresponds to proportion of palms in their possession.

States with	No. of owners	No. of palms	No. of slaves
200-500 palms	168	50,000	770
500-1000	86	50,000	930
1000-2000	53	74,100	920
2000-4000	36	57,700	660
Over 4000	—	34,800	380
Total	381	264,000	3,440

These 381 owners have by far the larger proportion of the palms which are now bearing as they belong for the most part to the families which have been engaged in cultivating in Mafia. It is on their work accordingly that the whole production of copra and the trade of Mafia (which brings in the fiscal receipts) that is dependent. The production of copra when the crop was moderate was estimated to 1500 tons and the total trade to over 771,000 rupees, while fiscal receipts rose from 43,000 to 61,000 rupees in the last two years.

If slavery were abolished the plantation owners would have to import labour from the mainland as there is not enough free labour in Mafia to go round. Not even the European plantations have had little success in importing labour and the abolition of slavery would accordingly certainly bring about economic ruin of at least 50% of all the native plantations.

and therewith a serious blow to the development of the  
islavery trade and government revenue. It is true that  
in accordance with existing arrangements the institution will  
finally disappear in time, but this will come about so gra-  
dually that the existing generation will have time to adapt  
itself to the altered circumstances and, notwithstanding  
all the estates would suffer serious economic disturbance.

I regard it as impossible to abolish slavery without giving  
to the owners, as property in slaves constitutes  
part of the wealth of the owners, and this is rec-  
ognized by the Government, in the Law Courts and in the dis-  
tribution of the public funds. Is it not likely that in a small dis-  
trict like that of Kafir, political disturbances would give  
the slaves if no compensation were paid, but such re-  
sistance as might be offered would cause no much discount and  
would not trouble the population, part of which is really  
more influential, than the consequences would not  
be serious. I do not believe that the slaves would not  
remain on the mainland.

As regards the amount of compensation to be paid is concerned

the amount paid

These are for:-

strong males	Rupees, 130 to 160
young women	* 160 to 200
older women	* 120 to 160
old men or women or boys	* 100 to 120

Prices under 100 rupees seldom occur and usually imply that the slaves have been put to some disadvantage. It may be anticipated that prices will rise with the decline in the number of slaves.

In the last seven months there were 105 cases of transfer of ownership. Of these 172 showed value of more than 100 and 14 of ~~more than~~, 150 rupees or more. In the fiscal year 1911 there were 230 transfers recorded with similar prices. Even supposing that these high prices which are obviously not all in proportion to the value of the work afforded by the slave in question, were not taken into account, still an average sum of 90 rupees per head would not be too high under existing circumstances. Accordingly if we assume that the number of slaves continues to diminish through purchase and release, such a sum of about 250,000 rupees would not be too much to pay for the 3000 slaves. But even if a high compensation were paid the economic effects would not be exerted. The receivers of the compensation would not be able to ~~use~~ pay with the money other labour to take

to take the place of the freed slaves.

On the other hand if all the slaves in Mafia were set free the Government would be faced with further difficulties and cost. The problems, for the slaves would have to be housed and fed for a considerable time. Even if a number of them who still keep up relations with their homes had come from neighbouring districts could be absorbed, there would not be enough for the rest of them. Some of the slaves are infirm and old, and would have to be supported permanently by the government. A further result would be the endangering of public safety. Thefts of coconuts would increase and have a further disastrous effect on the economic situation. The industrious people among the freed slaves, would, as ~~now~~ experience has shown, plant coconuts for themselves and not work for wages, at any rate after the first mango crop appeared. For hired labour there would only be the other slaves who would not stay with the masters they were used to, but they would be insufficient to supply the amount of labour needed.

One must not therefore overlook the fact that the institution of slavery will in any case disappear sooner or later and that the plantation owners will have to be helped by the Government by means of labour from the mainland as has already been done in Zanzibar and Pemba for the clove crops. Still this necessity

would not arise here for some time. The diminution in the  
in the number of slaves by purchase or voluntary release amounts  
to from 200 to 300 per annum and as a large number of the slaves  
are already advanced in age the rate of diminution will increase  
so that slavery will quite disappear in 30 years.

Moreover it is so easy for slaves to obtain their freedom by  
purchase in Mafia that every one of them can become free if he  
chooses. The only difficult is the high price, for owners who  
have recently paid 150 rupees for a slave are not likely to be  
willing to accept a ransom price of 50 rupees (the usual rate).  
and it has happened that in individual cases attempts to pur-  
chase freedom of slaves have fallen through owing to the high  
price demanded. In order to get rid of this difficulty and at  
the same time to avoid a further rise in the price of slaves,  
which is justified neither by the actual value of the labour  
involved on ethical grounds, I would suggest that a limit, say  
120 rupees be officially fixed beyond which the price paid for  
the transfer of ownership of a slave should not rise.

I consider that any further steps to make it easier for the slaves  
to obtain their freedom much less a total abolition of slav-  
ery whether with compensation or without it, would be detrimen-  
tal to the economic development of the place.

Enclosure No. 2.

ORDER RESPECTING THE RANSOM OF SLAVES

4th. September 1891.

Any slave who is transferred by means of sale or by  
any other legal transaction (e.g. exchange or presentation  
to his) from his former owner to any person who is not a  
native becomes ipso facto a Freeman.

Every ransoming of a slave must be reported within  
4 weeks ~~and to~~ to the competent German authority of the district  
where the slave or ransomer is domiciled and this autho-  
rity will on demand grant to the slave gratis a letter  
of freedom signed and sealed; in the same way letters  
of freedom may be granted to such slaves as receive their  
freedom through official order or for any other reason.

A contract made between the person ransoming and  
the person ransomed, under which the latter agrees to  
work off wholly or in part the sum paid for his ransom  
is in itself admissible; but such agreement must be made  
in writing before the authority mentioned in Sec. 2 and  
is subject to the consent of that authority. The authority  
must protect the interests of the person ransomed and  
pay particular attention that the sum to be worked

off corresponds to the sum actually paid to [redacted] redeem him as well as to the price usually current in the locality.

The rate of wages laid down in the contract for the ransomed slave must not be less than the usual local rate. The contract or legal under which supplies of food, clothing etc. are included in the amount to be worked off by the person ransomed.

4. Both the person ransoming and the person ransomed are to receive an official copy of the agreement entered into by them mentioned in the foregoing paragraph and on this copy the official will note the liquidation of the sum as they are worked off at the dates laid down in the contract.

5. The person ransomed may at any time pay off the whole balance of the sum paid in his behalf or a portion of the balance and thereby curtail or annul the period which he is still pledged to work.

6. In cases mentioned in Sec. 3 the person ransomed is at once to be regarded as a free man when the ransom has been paid and to receive a letter of freedom from the proper authority. His new master has no further rights regarding him than those provided for in the contract.

mentioned.

The official authorities in whose district the person ransomed is domiciled must see that the agreement entered into is properly carried out.

Every German District Officer in the Protectorate is to keep a register in which he is to enter every case of purchase of freedom reported, under consecutive numbers. Special files are to be kept for recording the terms of the contracts regarding working off the sums paid in ransom and cross reference will be made to these files in the register. The originals of the contracts remain in the hands of the authorities.

Contravention of Sec. 2 fo. 5. of this order will be punished by fines up to Rupees 500/- or in case of gravity with imprisonment up to 3 months.

This order comes into on the day of promulgation and has a retrospective force regarding any contracts for working off sums paid in ransom made prior thereto.

(SIGNED) Freiherr von Soden.

SLAVER LAW.

Law For Punishment Of Slave Trading And

Slave Trade.

July 28th. 1825.

1. Deliberate complicity in any undertaking for the purpose of slave trading will be punished by penal servitude. The organisers & leaders of the undertaking will receive not less than 3 years penal servitude.

2. Should a slave raid result in the death of one of the persons raided the organisers & leaders of the raid are liable to capital punishment and other participants in the raid to penal servitude for not less than 3 years.

2. Any one engaging in the slave trade, or deliberately taking part in any transport of slaves for trading purposes will be punished with penal servitude. If there should be extenuating circumstances, imprisonment for not less than 3 years will be imposed.

3. For the offences specified in clauses 1 & 2. a fine may be imposed in addition to imprisonment, if not more than 100,000 marks. In addition to imprisonment also police supervision may be imposed. All articles used in intended for use in connexion with the said are liable

to confiscation, whether they are the property of the person convicted or not. Should the apprehension of any particular person be impracticable, the confiscation may take place independently thereof.

Any person who contravenes the laws of the KAISER & the BUNDESBAHN, for the suppression of slave trading will be punished with a fine of not more than 6,000 marks or with imprisonment.

The provisions of Sec. 4 clause 2 NO. 1 of the criminal code are applicable in criminal proceedings under this law.

(Signed) Wilhelm Fuerst Zu  
Hehenlohe.

## ENCLOSURE NO. 4

ORDER CONCERNING EXPORT OF SLAVES.

MAY 31st. 1899.

Coloured persons, not adult, may not leave the  
Protectorate by sea except in the company of their parents  
or of Europeans.

The local authorities may grant permission to  
other respectable persons to take non-adult coloured per-  
sons with them if they possess landed property in the  
Protectorate and if no suspicion exists of an intention  
on their part to carry on slave-raiding or export.

Permission may be made conditional on the deposit of a  
sums security which will be refunded if the minors  
in question are brought back.

Contraventions of the above order will be pu-  
nished by a fine of not more than 1,000 rupees or im-  
prisonment for not more than a year or both, unless a sev-  
erer penalty is imposed under Art IV. of the order of  
August 1896. Attempts to contravention are punishable.

This order comes into force on the day of pro-  
mulgation.

(SIGNED) LIBERTY.

## ENCLOSURE NO. 5.

Order of the Imperial Chancellor regarding domestic Slavery in German East Africa November 29th. 1901.

In order to pave the way for the abolition of domestic slavery in German East Africa, the following regulations are laid down for that Protectorate in accordance with Sec. 15 of the Protectorate Laws (Imperial law code 1900 p 813.)

1. No free person can enter into a condition of slavery by selling himself, or by being sold by his relatives, or through debt or other obligations or in punishment for adultery.
2. Every domestic slave has the right to emerge from the state of slavery by paying a sum as ransom. The amount of this ransom will be fixed by the competent administrative authority.
3. Every domestic slave must be allowed to work for himself on two days in the week or to spend on his own account a corresponding amount earned by his labour. In so far as the existing arrangements sanctioned by custom heretofore were more favourable than this for the slaves they are to remain in force on this point as on other differences between owners and domestic slaves the com-

present administrative authority is to settle this matter.

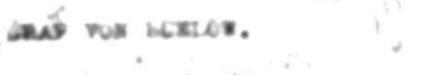
The owner of domestic slaves is bound to support and tend his slaves in their old age and in sickness. He is not relieved from his responsibility by letting his domestic slaves free when they grow infirm through old age or when sick.

5. The right of ownership in a slave may only be transferred with the consent of the State in the presence of the competent administrative authority and the transfer is subject to his consent. Before the consent is given to the transfer the authority must inquire into the legality of the ownership of the slave as well as into any other matters which appear of importance and must see that members of the same family are not separated from one another unless they agree thereto.

6. The right of ownership in a slave is forfeited when the owner fails to accord the slave proper treatment. The competent administrative official must examine into every case of such failure in duty on the part of owner which comes to his notice and is empowered in certain cases to order the slave to be set at liberty by granting him letters of freedom without thereby giving the owner any claim to compensation.

Contraventions of the provisions of this order will be punished with fines up to Rs. 500/- or by imprisonment up to three months, unless a more severe penalty is imposed under other criminal laws.

This order comes into force on the day of promulgation.

( SIGNATURE) 

ENCLOSURE NO. 6.

Order of the Imperial Chancellor regarding domestic slavery in German East Africa.

December 24th. 1904.

Promulgated February 4th. 1905.

Supplementary to the order concerning domestic slavery in German East Africa of November 29th, 1901,-  
the following order is made in accordance with Sec. 15  
of the Procedural Law.

(Imperial Law Code 1900 p. 823)

The children of domestic slaves born in German East Africa after December 31st. 1905 are free.

(SIGNAL) Graf von Buslewitz